

King Mu

Son

of

Heaven

Translation by

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MUH-T' IEN-TSZE CHUEN,

OR

NARRATIVE OF THE SON OF HEAVEN MUH.

Translated by E. J. EITEL, Ph.D.

1888

MUH-T'IENT-TSZE CHUEN,*

OR

NARRATIVE OF THE SON OF HEAVEN [POSTHUMOUSLY CALLED] MUH.

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PREFACES.

I.—PREFACE BY WANG TSIEN (A.D. 1350).

The Muh-t'ien-tsz Chuen, or Narrative of the Son of Heaven (known as) Muh, was originally obtained from a tomb in Kih† and collated and published in six kuen (sections) by Sun Huh,‡ who lived at the

* Note.—I am convinced that the main portion of this Narrative is of a very ancient date (10th century B.C.), but I reserve the discussion of the authenticity of the text for another opportunity.

† Kih 汲 a district in Honan, the 牧野 Muh-ye 'wilds of Muh' of the Shoo King. See Playfair, Cities and Towns of China, No. 629.

‡ Sun Huh 荀勗.

time of the Tsin dynasty.* (His edition) contained a preface in which he stated that, although the affairs here referred to are not those of the standard (classical) works, yet the style is very antique and well deserving careful study. The undersigned, however, finds, on examining the Preface to the Shoo King, that there it is stated that 'King Muh, having enjoyed possession of the Empire for a hundred years, became, in his dotage, dissipated.'† The Prince of

* A.D. 265-313.

† The words here quoted as from the Preface to the Shoo occur in the body of the work (Legge, Shoo, II, p. 589). Legge, interpunctuating differently, gives however to the passage here quoted quite a different

Historians* also records the fact of King Muh's ceremonial visit to (the Chief of) Si-wang-mu. Both of these statements agree moreover, on many points, with the contents of the various existing narratives and legends. In short, this book is really a record of details concerning a particular period and cannot be off-hand stigmatized as fabulous. During the Ch'un-ts'iu period† each of the various princes had his own national historiographers.‡ Naturally therefore multifarious dissensions abounded, down to the period of the Warring States,§ until finally the examples of the (ancient) Kings ceased to have any power and the words of the (royal) Sages were sunk in oblivion. It was then that the most ordinary scholars arbitrarily put forth their opinions, whence there arose all sorts of heresies, as every individual set up his private opinions to found a sect of his own, until, even with the best desire to avoid these multifarious dissensions, one could not possibly keep clear of them.

The present book records the (royal) progress, throughout the empire, on which King Muh started with his seven detachments. Be it noted, however, that his cortège was select and small and that the exactions required (for its maintenance) were insignificant. There was nothing to remind one of the royal progresses of the Ts'in or Han sovereigns who, with their thousands of outriders and tens of thousands of carriages,

sense, viz. 'when the king had enjoyed the throne till he was of the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration' (to the appointment of punishments).

* Sz-ma Ts'ien, B.C. 163-85.

† B.C. 721-480.

‡ Mih Tih states that he himself saw the Ch'un Ts'iu records of a hundred different States. See Legge, Ch'un Ts'iu, Proleg. p. 5.

§ The time when China was divided into a multitude of Warring States, the period (B.C. 363-255) of Mencius, Wei Yang, Su Ts'in, Lü Pu-wai and others. The principal Warring States (Yen, Chao, Han, Wei, Ts'i and Ts'u) formed B.C. 333 a league against Ts'in. This period closed with the rise of Ts'in.

turned out the whole Empire on the tramp. King Muh not only kept himself count of the errors of his ways, but also of the admonitions he received from the officers of his seven detachments, and yet not a single instance is on record that he ever treated (such admonitions) as an act of disrespect. When he ascended mount K'ün-yuh,* he ordered the Marquis of Ying† to have gems cut, and yet he would not accept even sacrificial offerings from the Marquis. Thus he ever put in practice those principles of compassion for the people which characterized the early Kings. When it happened that snow fell, he bid his officers to take their ease whilst he, the King, pushed rapidly on alone on his car drawn by eight steeds and had to wait forthwith ten days before he could start again. This is not like (the common practice of) imperiously insisting upon punctuality (of attendants). The fact is, he was the successor of (Kings like) Ch'ing‡ and K'ang,§ whose harmonious and pacifying influence continued to keep the mass of the people in perfect content. Accordingly, though King Yen of Sü energetically practised the principles of benevolence and righteousness, it did not give him a chance to raise his standard (of rebellion in Muh's absence) and to disturb the peace of the Empire. Hence we see that (King Muh), although he committed no acts of violence and did not rule oppressively, had, in the opinion of scholars, reason to consider it extremely lucky that he was allowed to close his eyes (in peace) in the palace of Chi.|| This shows sufficiently how unstable¶ man's life is even under such (favour-

* Lit. Mount 'plenty of gems.'

† 邢侯.

‡ Ch'ing, B.C. 1115.

§ K'ang, B.C. 1078.

|| This palace is mentioned in the Bamboo books as the place where King Muh died. Legge, Shoo, Proleg. p. 151.

¶ Allusion to the words of the Shoo, 'the mind of man is restless, prone to err.' Legge, Shoo, I, p. 61.

able) circumstances. Behold, how rare is a model man! The patient student of this book cannot fail to perceive its antique characteristics. Nor can critical investigation of the facts fail to come to a decision as to the truth. Liu Ching, also styled T'ing-kan, a native of Hai-tai, Assistant Secretary of Nan-t'ai, treasured up this book from of old, and fearing lest it might become lost to futurity, he devoted his leisure time to the task of collating all errors and mistakes, and ordered the Inspector of the district schools of Kin-ling to get the book reprinted for the benefit of studious and cultured scholars, whereupon he enjoined upon the undersigned the duty of composing this preface to the edition.

Written during the reign styled Chi-shing, in the 11th year (of Shun Ti), the year star being in the sign Kang-yin, on the Jin-tsz day, being the 22nd day of the 2nd moon in spring (A.D. 1350), at Poh-yoh, by Wang Tsien, styled Yuen-han.

II.—PREFACE BY WANG MO (A.D. 1788).

The above mentioned Muh-t'ien-tsz chuen in six kuen (sections) was originally obtained, together with the Annals of the Cheu Books (Bamboo Books), from a tomb in Kih. It may be suspected perhaps that some person of the time of the Warring States, seeing that the Books (known by the name) of Lieh Tsz mention, in the section referring to King Muh of Cheu, the fact of his going in a carriage drawn by eight steeds on a ceremonial visit to (the Chief of) Si-wang-mu, took occasion therefrom to build on it the present story which is not a contemporaneous record of the official historiographer who (usually) records the movements of the sovereign. As the sovereign is, whilst living, referred to (in this book) under his posthumous name (King Muh), (the forgery) seems easy to see through, being more clearly exhibited by this stupid blunder than by anything else. On the other hand, the style of the book is recondite and pregnant of meaning and so

extraordinarily charming that scholars of all classes readily take up and discuss the book.

The only point which perplexes the undersigned is the reference made in this book to the Shing Ki affair, which, while glossed over by the Ch'un Ts'iu (as disgraceful), is here treated as if it were a subject for pleasant discourse. It may be said that King Muh, although in his extreme dotage he became dissipated, desired merely to indulge himself a little. But surely he would not go so far in licentiousness as to disregard the distinctions of kindred to that extent. Or it may be said that the term Shing Ki* is here, as in the phrase 'that beautiful virtuous lady' which occurs in the Shi King,† simply the honourable designation of a lady of distinction. Moreover the origin of that clan name or name dates back a long distance of time, and may be a term like Lih-ki, Pa-ki, or Mih-ki occurring in the Tso-chuen, that is to say a term regarding which we do not know what distinction (of kinship) it implied in the time of the Cheu dynasty.‡ But as to Kwoh's Commentary quoting forthwith the comments of Kung-yang§ and laying down the law on the subject, we have there an arbitrary substitution of the character 姬

* See below § 133, where a lady whom King Muh married is referred to, but there is a lacuna in the text, so that it is impossible to say whether her surname is there stated to be Shing-ki or Ki. In § 134 she is called Shing-ki. She was the daughter of Shing-poh.

† 彼美淑姬 See Legge, Shi, I, p. 208, 'Ki was the surname of the house of Chow,—of all who could trace their lineage, indeed, up to Kwang-te, just as Kiang was the surname of the house of Ts'i, and of all descended from the still more ancient Shin-nung. These were the most famous surnames of China, and hence to say that she was 'a Ki' or 'a Kiang' was the highest compliment that could be paid to a lady. So Ying Fah explains the 姬 here.'

‡ The meaning is that the lady Shing Ki may have been of the clan Ki and yet no relation of King Muh at all.

§ On the Ch'un-ts'iu.

Shing (used by Kung-yang) for the character 盛 Shing (in the Muh-t'ien-tsz chuen), as if the person referred to (Shing Ki) had been a lineal descendant of (King) Wán or Ch'ao. Although the duties of mourning determine after an interval of five generations, a question of intermarriage surely cannot be settled on the same principle. The undersigned opines that what we have here is simply a blunder of the commentator and not an error of the official historiographer. Having now collated and edited this book, the undersigned wished to put this particular matter straight, lest an ancient King of the Cheu dynasty might for ever remain under a disgraceful imputation.

Written under the reign of K'ien-lung, on the 5th day of the 5th moon, in the Wu-shin year (Sunday, 8th June, A.D. 1788), at Yü-shang, by Wang Mo.

SECTION I.

Edited by Ching Lien of Nan-ch'ing.

[Collated with the edition of Hung I-huen of Lin-hai.]

ANCIENT TEXT.*

(§ 1.)*
The Son of Heaven was entertained at a banquet on mount K'üen. (§ 2.) On Wu-yin (day) the prince marched northward when he went straight across the river

* I have collated several editions to ascertain the best reading in each case of difficulty. The division of the paragraphs is my own, and merely intended to serve convenience of reference. I have not attempted to fill up the many lacunae in the text, except where the context plainly indicates the missing words. The text is here, at the very beginning, deficient. Some paragraphs are evidently missing. It is therefore not known from which point the King started on his expedition, but it may be surmised (from § 93) that he started from Nan-ch'ing. According to the Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 150, he started on this expedition in the 17th year of his reign, i.e. in B.C. 977. But according to the Bamboo Books the whole expedition occupied only one year, whilst according to our text it covered several years.

Chang.* (§ 3.) On Käng-shän† (3rd day), he reached A feast was made to the Son of Heaven on a rocky plateau, when he (had) the (musical piece called) Kwang-hoh performed; (but) he remained standing in his carriage and did not descend. (Then) he went on to the foot of mount P'ing. (§ 4.) On Kwéi-wéi (6th day), there was a fall of snow and the Son of Heaven had a hunt on the western slope‡ of mount P'ing, and thenceforth the dangerous defiles of mount P'ing were passable. Turning northwards, he went along the front of (the river called) Fu-t'ó. (§ 5.) On Yüeh-yiu (9th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded northwards and ascended the The Son of Heaven then proceeded towards (the region of) the K'üen Jung (tribe). The K'üen Jung (tribe)§ the Hu (tribe). They gave the Son of Heaven a feast in front of the river Tang,|| when the Son of Heaven had some music performed Rewards were given to the officers of the seven detachments.¶ There was some fighting going on.** (§ 6.) On Käng-yin (14th day) a north wind brought a fall of snow, whereupon the Son of Heaven, by reason of the severe cold, ordered his royal retinue to take some rest. (§ 7.) On Kiah-wu (18th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded westwards, and on this occasion the danger-

* Probably the river mentioned in the Shoo King, Legge I, p. 94 and p. 96 and 97 (notes).

† Taking Wu-yin as the 1st day, then Kan-shän would be the 3rd day.

‡ Some read 河 river, for 阿 slope.

§ Perhaps the original read 'were a branch of (the Hu tribe).' The K'üen Jung are mentioned in the Bamboo Books as having been subdued five years previous. See Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 150.

|| Perhaps a slip of the pen, 當 Tang for 雷 Léi.

¶ So. of the King's body guard.

** There seems to be here some corruption of the text. Nowhere else in the whole narrative is any military undertaking referred to, although the King was accompanied by a body guard in seven detachments and six (small) army corps. See however § 95 and § 117.

ous passes and defiles of Yü were cleared. (§ 8.) On Ki-hai (23rd day), he reached the plains of Yen-kü and Yü-chi. (§ 9.) On Sin-ch'eu (25th day), the Son of Heaven marched westwards until he reached the country of P'äng. One of Ho-tsung's* descendants, an earl of P'äng, called Sü, was the only one who came to meet the Son of Heaven at the . . . of Chi,† having previously sent (as presents) ten leopard skins and six pairs of thoroughbred horses, which the Son of Heaven commissioned Li (duke) of Tsing to receive (for him). (§ 10.) On Kwéi-yiu (57th day) the Son of Heaven spent a night at the marsh (or lake)‡ of Tsih§ (or Shän), whereupon he went westward, angling in the Ho and viewing the . . . of . . . Chi.¶ (§ 11.) On Kiah-shän (68th day), the Son of Heaven had a hunt at the marsh (or lake) of Shän. It was on this occasion that a white fox and a black badger were caught and offered in sacrifice to Ho-tsung.¶ (§ 12.) On Ping-wu (90th day), the Son of Heaven held a banquet on the heights near the river Ho. The Son of Heaven then reviewed the troops of the six armies in the South of (the country occupied by) the State of P'äng, on the banks of the marsh of Shän. (§ 13.) On Wu-yin (122nd day), the Son of Heaven marched westward, pushing on rapidly until he reached the mountains of Yang-ngu,** where there was origin-

* A person who, after his death, was revered as the Supreme Lord (god) of the river Ho.

† The original probably read 'on the plains of Yen-kü and Yü-chi.'

‡ The character 澤 or 澤, is not to be found in Kanghi.

§ There is here probably a slip of the pen, 漆澤 for 滌澤, the marsh (or lake) of Shän.

¶ The original probably read 'the plains of Yen-kü and Yü-chi.'

¶ The tutelary god of the Ho.

** This place is mentioned in the Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 150, where Legge says its situation is undetermined, but adds, 'Some say it is in K'i-cheu, others in Ts'in, others

ally the residence of Wu-i, the earl of Ho, the first ancestor of the Ho-tsung family.* A member of this Ho-tsung family, one Poh-yao, came to meet the Son of Heaven at mount Yen-jan and presented to him offerings consisting of a piece of silk, to which he added some gems, having previously intimated (his intentions) The Son of Heaven commissioned Ts'ai-fut to receive (these offerings). (§ 14.) On Kwéi-ch'eu (157th day), the Son of Heaven held a grand levée at mount Yen- ‡ on the slope over the river Ho, whereupon he gave his instructions to§ Li (duke) of Tsing and Ku (duke?) of Liang, ordering them to take the command of the six armies. The Son of Heaven then appointed a lucky day. (§ 15.) On Wu-wu (162nd day), the Son of Heaven, arrayed himself in gala dress. He wore the crown, the sacrificial robe, the knee caps, the round tablet stuck in the girdle and the girdle pendants dangling on both sides, whilst he grasped in both hands the jade tablet. Facing South he stood at the foot of the *han* (altar?), with a pair of precentors to assist him, whilst the officers spread out the plain-coloured victims, five in number . . . being got ready. The Son of Heaven then presented to Ho-tsung (the god of the river Ho)¶ the jade tablet. Poh-yao (the descendant of) Ho-tsung received the jade tablet, and then turned to the West, flung the jade tablet into the Ho, and made

far beyond, 3,000 *li* from Tsung-cheu (宗周).

* Mayers, Manual, No. 172.

† This precise term is not mentioned in the Bamboo Books (see below § 18), but one Meu-fu, duke of Tsai, is mentioned, and I suppose the two terms really mean the same man.

‡ The original probably read Yen-jan (see § 12).

§ Li, duke of Tsing, is mentioned in the Bamboo Books, but Ku (duke?) of Liang is not mentioned there.

¶ See Mayers, Manual, No. 172. Subsequently in B.C. 861, the fourth successor of Muh also 'performed a service of homage to the Ho, using the 介珪 large mace.' See Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 153.

two obeisances with his head to the ground. The preceptors having drowned (in the Ho) a bull, a horse, a boar and a ram, Ho-tsung* . . . gave his instructions to His Majesty the Son of Heaven, but as Ho-poh (i.e. Ho-tsung, addressed him familiarly by his personal appellation, the Emperor (in replying) styled himself, that is Muh, simply (by his milkname) Man. 'You, (said Ho-tsung), shall for ever control the affairs of the world.' Thereupon (Muh) turned to the South and made two obeisances. Once more Ho-tsung addressed him by his personal appellation, and again the Emperor (in replying) styled himself, that is Muh, simply (by his milkname) Man†. 'I will show to you (said Ho-tsung) the treasures of Chung; I will point out to you four dwellings on . . . Kwän-lun, with seventy tranquil lakes,' whereupon (Muh) proceeded (in the spirit) to the heights of Kwän-lun, was shewn the treasures of mount Chung and received some instructions of mystic (prophetic) import. Having received these commands, the Son of Heaven turned to the South and made two obeisances. (§ 16). On Ki-wéi (163rd day) the Son of Heaven held a grand levée on the mountain of Wang, whereupon he unfolded the chart, inspected the records (therein), and made a general inspection of all the articles of gems belonging to the Son of Heaven.

† *Note.*—The gems of the Son of Heaven

* It is to be supposed that the spirit of the Ho rose out of the waters and addressed Muh.

† In the Bamboo Books (Legge, p. 149), Muh's name is also given as Man 滿.

‡ Here, as on other occasions below, a sentence is interpolated in the text and marked as interpolation by the vague term 曰 'some one remarks.' I take it that every sentence thus introduced is really an annotation by a later hand. That the information introduced by such sentences is of later date, is apparent under § 23 where 'square miles' are mentioned. Wherever this 曰 occurs, I shall treat the sentence simply as a Note. But it is not always certain where the Note ends.

(consisted of) jewelled fruit, gem-like pearls, dazzling silver, and elixir of yellow gold; the gems of the Son of Heaven were (of the value of) ten thousand pieces of gold; the gems of . . . (were valued at) one hundred pieces of gold, the gems of officers (at) fifty pieces of gold, the gems of commoners at ten pieces of gold; there was also the bow of the Son of Heaven (strong enough to) kill a man, and the sword (called) Pu; the jewels . . . cows, horses and rhinoceroses (were valued at) a thousand pieces of gold; the steeds of the Son of Heaven could run a thousand *li* (a day) faster than any wild beast (or any) man; the hounds of the Son of Heaven could run a hundred *li* (a day) and they were able to seize tigers and leopards.

Poh-yao stated, that there were obing (ordinary?) birds, using wings, as (for instance) those called wu-yen, or kiun-kai, which could fly a distance of 800 *li* (a day); that there were famous wild animals which, using their legs, could run a distance of 1000 *li* (a day); that there were also tsun-i (a species of lion) and the wild horses of . . . able to run a distance of 500 *li* (a day); that there were (the horses called) k'üung-k'üung and k'ü-hü able to run a distance of 100 *li* (a day); and that there were (the deer called) mi— . . . (able to run but a distance of) 20 *li* (a day).

Note.—Poh-yao having delivered the records of the river (chart), ascended forthwith his car drawn by the k'ü-wang (steeds) and acted as advance-guard to the Son of Heaven throughout his march to the countries of the Far West.

(§ 17.) On Yüeh-ch'eu (169th day), the Son of Heaven, proceeding westward, crossed the Ho . . . Here there are pleasant valleys and regions of delight, it being the place where Ho-tsung (originally) roved about and dwelled. (§ 18.) On Ping-yin (170th day) the Son of Heaven called together his officers and examined the treasures (they had collected). He also com-

manded Kiao-fu,* his principal Minister, to collect the warrants (of investiture) and the regulations (hitherto issued). Thereupon he used the carriage with the eight steeds of the second [read 中 for 仲] (Equerry), and proceeded to the feast given on the islet at the river-fork in that portion of the Ho which runs South of Tsih-shih.† Now the steeds of the Son of Heaven were named as follows), ch'ih-k'ü, tao-li, poh-i, yü-lua, shan-tsze, k'ü-hwang, hwa-liu and luh-rh.‡ His hounds were (named) ch'ung-kung, ch'eh-chi (or shan), kwan-kia, —hwang, nan—, and lai-poh. The charioteer of the Son of Heaven was Tsao-fu§, with three hundred (subordinates), among whom were Käng-siao and Choh-kiah.

Note.—The Son Heaven, when he went abroad with them entered even morasses (safely), on the occasion of hunting, angling or bird shooting.

The Son of Heaven exclaimed (on one of those occasions), 'Alas! that I, the principal man (in the Empire) should have no excellence in any skill but be given to pleasure! Is it not probable that future generations in recording (these doings of mine) will count up all my shortcomings?' Thereupon the officers of the seven detachments replied to the Son of Heaven saying, 'What future generations will look to is the fact that (under your reign) there was no disorder in the Laws of Nature. Agriculture now produces its results. Both men and women have clothes and food. The whole of mankind (roll in) wealth and comfort. The officers of government attend each to his proper duty. And the reason for all this is that

* Not mentioned in the Bamboo Books. Note here the title 父 fu as in Ts'ai-fu above (§ 13)

† See Legge, Shoo, I, p. 127, note.

‡ This horse is mentioned in the Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 150.

§ See Mayers, Manual, No. 737. The Bamboo Books state that in the year before he started with Muh on this expedition he was enfeoffed with Chao (shing) in P'ing-yang. See Legge, p. 150, note.

Nature adheres to its fixed seasons. When Min*— obtained (the Throne), he was, without in the least laying himself out for it, surrounded by pleasures, yet he never forgot himself so as to neglect any duty, he strove but for the common weal, and thus generation after generation found out what we have (through order) in the Laws of Nature.' (For these remarks), the Son of Heaven praised them and bestowed on them the ornamented (jade stones) which he carried on his left side as girdle-pendants, whereupon they made repeated obeisances, prostrating themselves before him.

SECTION II.

(§ 19.) Poh-yao (addressed to the Son of Heaven a request) to enfeoff Muh-cheu† with the region in front of the river Ho and to appoint him master (of sacrificial ceremonies) for the people of Yin.‡ (§ 20). On Ting-tsze (221st day), the Son of Heaven started in a S. W. direction and ascended to the region where the had permanently settled. Here there are large trees and splendid plants. Here there are also wild animals with fine opportunities for hunting. (§ 21.) On Wu-wu (222nd day), K'ü-léi (the chief) of the tribe of Ch'eu presented to the Son of Heaven one hundred of wine. The Son of Heaven tasted some of it and proceeded. He then stopped at the outlying hills of Kwän-lun§ in front of the river|| Ch'ih [Red]. Here

* Who is this personage? The text is evidently corrupt and my rendering is here accordingly rather guesswork than translation.

† Not mentioned in the Bamboo Books.

‡ Descendants of the Kings of the Yin (formerly Shang) dynasty B.C. 1401.

§ In the Tribute of Yü (Legge, Shoo, p. 127) the term Kwän-lun occurs, but stands there rather for the name of a skin-wearing tribe than for a country, though the natural inference is that the country was called after the tribe. Kwän-lun people are there mentioned together with the Sih-chi 析支 and K'ü-seu 渠搜 tribes. The latter appears to be referred to in our text, § 80. See also Mayers, No. 330.

|| This river is not mentioned in the Tribute of Yü.

there is the mountain of Yin-niao. The Son of Heaven resided for three days at the..... (foot) of the mountain of Yin-niao. (§ 22.) On a lucky day (specially selected), viz. on Sin-yiu (225th day), the Son of Heaven ascended the heights of Kwän-lun and viewed the palace of Hwang Ti.* He then raised the mound (interpolating 封) over the tomb of Fung-lung (omitting the lacuna here indicated in the text) in order to perpetuate his memory among future generations. (§ 23.) On Kwéi-hai (227th day), the Son of Heaven selected some pure victims, fasted and then offered plain-coloured animals in sacrifice..... (to the god of) the heights of Kwän-lun. (§ 24.) On Kiah-tsze (228th day), the Son of Heaven marched northwards. He stopped at Chü-tseh (the marsh or lake or pearls of Chü) in order to angle in the current.

Note.—The swamps of Chü-tseh cover an area of thirty square li.

Here there are (reeds and rushes) called kwan-wei, yuen-p'u, mao-péi and kien-yao. (The people) then presented offerings of white gem stones to the number of..... pieces, also one horn of....., and three..... which could be (used) for..... washing. Others then handed in presents of eatables..... and ten..... of wine, with nine..... of (an article called) ku-i the taste of which is exactly that of the stomach of deer, only it is softer. Accordingly (yet others) presented 300 fattened horses and 3000 oxen and sheep. Whilst..... (residing) on Kwän-lun, the Son of Heaven occupied the palace of Hwang Ti. He appointed a governor (of the region) of the river Ch'ih (Red) in the S. and a guardian of the treasures of mount Chung in the North. The Son of Heaven then presented Wu (the chief) of the people of (Chü-tsih) with three (times) five rings of yellow gold, with 30 girdles made of pearls and embroidered brocade

* The Bamboo Books do not mention a journey of Hwang Ti to the West.

(or strings of cowries?) and with 4 (pieces) of finely wrought cloth Wu thereupon made his obeisance kneeling and received (the presents). The Son of Heaven then further bestowed on him two (times) six yellow oxen and gave thirty to the people of (Chü-tsih) on the heights of Kwän-lun. (§ 25). In the the last month of summer, on Ting-mao (231st day), the Son of Heaven started northwards and ascended the summit of mount Chung, whence he viewed the four wilds.

Note.—Mount Chung is (one of) the highest mountains in the world.

(There being) tsz-trees (there), the flowers of which do (not) mind even snow, the Son of Heaven gathered the seeds of the flowers from these tsz trees, and took them home where he had them planted.

Note.—The marsh (or lake) of mount Chung contains clear water derived from springs; (the climate) there is pleasant and genial and free from (strong) winds, wherefore the place is the feeding ground for birds and all sorts of animals, and the Kings of antiquity called the place accordingly Yuen-p'u.

It was here that the Son of Heaven obtained gemmy flowers (coral trees?), finer even than chi-sz.

Note.—Mount Chung is the place where all animals herd together and where all birds go to roost.

Here there are..... beasts which devour even tigers and leopards and resemble tailed deer, but they carry (on the head) a bone in the shape of a dish This beast, when young, resembles a hornless deer and has a small head and large nose.

Here there are red leopards, white tigers, black and spotted white (or brown) bears, wolves, wild horses, wild buffaloes, wild goats and wild boars. Here there are also white birds and azure eagles which carry off dogs and sheep and devour boars and deer.

Note.—The Son of Heaven spent five days in viewing the summit of mount Chung,

whereupon he had his movements engraved (on a rock) at a place above Yuen-p'u, with a view to perpetuate his memory among future generations.

(§ 26.) On Jan-shān (236th day), the Son of Heaven marched westward. (§ 27.) On Kiah-suh (238th day), he reached the country of (the chief of) the Ch'ih-wu tribe. (Their chief), K'i, made an offering of 1000 huh (gallons) of wine which he presented to the Son of Heaven, together with 900 fattened horses, 3000 sheep and oxen and 100 loads of non-glutinous millet. The Son of Heaven commissioned Ts'ai-fu to receive these presents (in his name).

Note.—The chief of the Ch'ih-wu tribe traced his descent back to the family of the Cheu (dynasty). The great King, called T'an-fu*, first organized government in these western regions, and enfeoffed his eldest son Wu T'ai-poh † with (the region thenceforth known as) Eastern Wu, teaching him the art of making swords of metal and granting him the use of the round rank-tokens of the Cheu family. He also enfeoffed Kwei-ch'oh, the chief of his officers in charge of rank tokens, with the tract, called Seh, on mount Chung, and gave him his eldest daughter to wife, teaching him also the art of working gem-stones, and appointing him master of sacrificial ceremonies for the house of Cheu.

The Son of Heaven then bestowed on K'i, the (chief) of the Ch'ih-wu tribe, four black chariots, 40 ounces (yih) of yellow gold, 50 brocaded girdles (or 50 strings of cowries ?) and 300 bundles of pearls, all of which K'i accepted after making obeisance kneeling.

Note.—Mount (Chung) is one of the finest mountains of the world, a mine of treasures and gems, and produces fine cereals, and large and splendid plants and trees.

It was here that the Son of Heaven ob-

tained fine rice plants which he took home and had them planted in China.

Note.—The Son of Heaven rested for five days at the foot of mount (Chung).

He then (had the musical piece called) Kwang-hoh performed. K'i, (the chief of) the people of Ch'ih-wu, made a free-will offering giving to the Son of Heaven his two daughters, the one daughter being called T'ing, the other daughter being called Lieh, both to be concubines.

Note.—The country occupied by the Ch'ih-wu tribe is the (well-known) country of handsome people, and a very mine of treasures and gems.

(§ 28.) On Ki-mao (243rd day), the Son of Heaven marched northwards traversing a distance of shé (or 30 li) by forced marches. (§ 29.) On Kang-shān (244th day), he crossed the river Yang. (§ 30.) On Sin-tsz (245th day), he entered (the country of) the people belonging to the Ts'ao-nu tribe, (whose chief, called) Hi, gave a feast to the Son of Heaven on the banks of the river Yang. He then made offerings (to the Son of Heaven) consisting of 900 fattened horses, 7,000 oxen and sheep, and 100 car-loads of non-glutinous rice, and the Son of Heaven commissioned Ku (duke) of Fung to receive these (presents in his name). The Son of Heaven then bestowed on Hi, the (chief of the) people of Ts'ao-nu deer (of the colour) of yellow gold and (hornless deer) of the colour of silver, also 40 strings of cowries (?) and 400 bundles of pearls. Hi then made obeisance kneeling and received (these presents). (§ 31.) On Jan-wu (246th day), the Son of Heaven marched northwards and then turned round towards the East. (§ 32.) On Kiah-shān (248th day), he reached the river Hoh (Black),* which is called Hung-lu by the people of the western desert. Here it was that rain fell for seven days, (wherefore) the Son of Heaven (ordered) the six

* This river is mentioned in the Tribute of Yü, see Legge, Shoo, p. 119 and 123. In the latter place it is called a boundary of Yung-cheu.

* See Mayers, Manual, No. 666.

† See Mayers, Manual, No. 875.

corps and their camp-followers to 'stop and wait.' The Son of Heaven then enfeigned the (chief of the) Long-armed people with that region near the Ho which lies W. of the river Hoh (Black). This is the country on the upper course of the Hung-lu. He was also to act as master (of sacrificial ceremonies) for the house of the Chou (dynasty). This country was henceforth called Liu-sü ('stop and wait'). (§ 33.) On Sin-mao (255th day), the Son of Heaven marched northwards and then turned round towards the East. He then followed the course of the river Hoh (Black). (§ 34.) On Kwéi-tsz (257th day), he reached the mountain of K'üñ-yuh (lit. plenty of gems) which was guarded by the (chief of the) Yung..... (shing) tribe.

Note.—Mount K'üñ-yuh-t'ien (lit. field with plenty of gems) and the slope* ofChi are regions of ordinary (configuration), devoid of dangerous (defiles), being open in all directions, with a passage in the centre forming a straight line.

(On this mountain is a place) which the ancient Kings called their record-office. There are but few plants and trees there and moreover there are neither birds nor wild animals. Here there is, however, a tree called which the people of the Western Desert call In this place the Son of Heaven, by setting people to work the gem stone (mines), obtained three car-loads of gem-slabs, also gem utensils and dress ornaments, gems being piled up to the number of ten thousand pieces. The Son of Heaven rested on the mountain of K'üñ-yuh only four days, but he then ordered the Marquis of Ying to detain there the men who were working the gem stones (mines). (§ 35.) In the first month of autumn, on Ting-yiu (261st day), the Son of Heaven marched northwards. The (chief of the) tribe, called Ts'ien-shi, gave a banquet to the Son of Heaven on the (banks or heights of) Yü-ling (river or mountain) and then he pre-

sented as offerings fine horses, cattle and sheep. The Son of Heaven, considering that the people of this tribe worked the gem stone (mines), declined the present of animals. Poh-yao remarked that the (chief of the) tribe was a descendant of Lan —..... The Son of Heaven then bestowed on him three (times) six jars of yellow gold, and 300 bundles of pearls. Ts'ien-shi (made obeisance) kneeling and received (these presents). (§ 36.) On Wu-suh (262nd day), the Son of Heaven marched westwards. (§ 37.) On Sin-ch'eu (264th day), he reached (the country of) the I-lü tribe. The Son of Heaven then ordered (the chief of) the I-lü tribe to provide rations for the men of the six armies (encamped) at the foot of mount T'ieh. (§ 38.) On Jan-yin (265th day), the Son of Heaven ascended mount T'ieh (and offered a sacrifice at Kiao-mên) whereupon he took away the sacrificial vessels (and gave them) to (the chief of) the I-lü tribe, Wan-Kwéi, who thereupon made obeisance kneeling and accepted (the present). The Son of Heaven, having completed the sacrifices, started and marched forthwith westward. (§ 39.) On Ping-wu (269th day), he reached the (country of the) Yin-han tribe. Here there are delightful wilds, (the climate being) pleasant and genial. It is a place where non-glutinous rice flourishes, where hounds, horses, cattle and sheep abound, and where precious gems..... (are found in plenty). (§ 40.) On Ting-wéi (270th day), the Son of Heaven held a grand levée in the centre of a level plateau. He then commanded the six armies with their camp-followers to rest. (§ 41.) On Ki-yau (272nd day), the Son of Heaven gave a grand entertainment to the principal Ministers and to all princes and royal officers, and to the officers of the seven detachments (of his body guard) in the centre of that level plateau. The (chief of the) Yin-han tribe, (called) Wu-fu, then made an offering of 100 thoroughbred horses, 300 draft oxen, 7000 thoroughbred hounds, 200 heads of fine cattle, 300

* Some read 河 river for 阿 slope.

wild horses, 2000 oxen and sheep,* and 300 ear loads of non-glutinous (rice and) barley. The Son of Heaven then bestowed on him four (times) seven jars of yellow gold and silver, 50 strings of cowries, 300 bundles of pearls, and (a gem called) tiao-kwan which changes.....(colour?). Wu-fu, (with his retinue) high and low, then did obeisance kneeling and accepted the presents. (§ 42.) On Kang-suh (273rd day), the Son of Heaven marched westward until he reached Yuen-ch'i (the Sombre Lake). For three days he rested above Yuen-ch'i (the Sombre Lake), and had forthwith the (music called) Kwang-hoh performed, which was completed on the third day. Here there is (a lake) called Loh-ch'i (Lake Delightful.) The Son of Heaven then planted some bamboos here, and hence this (place) was henceforth called Chuh-lin (Bamboo-forest). (§ 43.) On Kwei-ch'eu (276th day), the Son of Heaven forthwith marched westwards. (§ 44.) On Ping-shān (279th day), he reached K'u-shan (Mount Brinjal), which the people of the Western Desert call Meu-yuen (Luxuriant Garden). The Son of Heaven here rested and hunted. Here it was that he tasted brinjal. (§ 45.) On Ting-ki (280th day), the Son of Heaven marched westward. (§ 46.) On Ki-wéi (282nd day), he stayed overnight on the western.....(spur) of the mountain of Wang-ch'u (Yellow Rats). He then marched westwards. (§ 47.) On Kwei-hai (286th day), he reached the people (called ?) Si-wang-mu.†

* It is just possible that the term 牛羊 may mean a special kind of sheep.

† Si-wang-mu, see Mayers, Manual, No. 572. These three characters probably are merely a transliteration of a name belonging to a polysyllabic non-Chinese language. The meaning of the individual characters chosen to represent that foreign name, ought not to prejudice the reader. There is nothing in this or any other *ancient* text to indicate that Si-wang-mu was a woman. Taking this name like other names in our text, it seems to me best to treat Si-wang-mu as the name of a tribe whose chief went by the

SECTION III.

(§ 48.) (Having selected) as a lucky day, the Kiah-tsz (287th day), the Son of Heaven paid a visit to (the chief of) Si-wang-mu. Accordingly, holding the white rank-token and the round rank-token in his hands, he went to see (the chief of) Si-wang-mu, and (in token of his) friendly feelings he made an offering (to the chief) of 100 pieces of silk ribbons and 300 pieces of.....ribbons. (The chief of) Si-wang-mu made repeated obeisances and accepted the presents..... (§ 49.) On Yueh-ch'eu (288th day), the Son of Heaven gave a banquet to (the chief of) Si-wang-mu on the Yao-ch'i (Gemmy Lake). (The chief of) Si-wang-mu recited the following (stanzas) in honour of the Son of Heaven:—

White clouds may hover on the sky, and yet
The hill tops will gradually emerge from
them,

Thus, though the distance by road be ever
so great,

And mountains and rivers may intervene
between us,

Yet hereafter the Son of Heaven, being
exempt from death,

Will nevertheless be able to come here once
more.

To this, the Son of Heaven replied as follows:—

I have to return to the countries of the East
To pacify and govern the States of Hia,

same name. In that case it is quite natural that the mountains inhabited by this tribe were also called Si-wang-mu (§ 48). In the Bamboo Books it is stated (see Legge, p. 150 and 151), that 'In his 17th year, he (Muh) went on an expedition to the heights of Kwān-lun and interviewed (the chief of) Si-wang-mu. In the same year, (the chief of) Si-wang-mu came to court (in China, in Si-ch'ing) and stayed as a guest in the palace of Ch'eu.' Evidently the author of the Bamboo Books considered the principal object of the expedition to have been Si-wang-mu. Our text does not give the same impression. This, as well as other points, I look upon as indicating that our text is earlier than the Bamboo Books.

But when the myriads of peoples are all
tranquil,
I shall turn back to visit you.
Within the space of three years,
I hope to be once more in these wilds.

The Son of Heaven forthwith started and ascended mount Yen. He then had the record of his movements cut in a rock on mount Yen, and moreover planted a locust tree (on the spot). The heading (of the inscription) ran thus, 'Mount Si-wang-mu.' Now as to his departure and return from mount Si-wang-mu, (the chief of) the people of, being moved with grief, composed the following chant:—

Proceeding northwards you came to these
countries of the West.
And here you dwelled in these wilds,
Where tigers and leopards rove about in
herds
And crows and magpies share the place
with them.
Fortune's destiny is fixed unalterably
For me as well as for you the King.
Great is your destiny as the Son of
Heaven,
And yet it cannot be pronounced (to be perfect).
Therefore my people, moved by sympathy,
Shed tears over the sudden fall (which threatens you).
They blow the reed pipes and play the organ,
(To drown) the grief of their hearts,
And my people of all classes
Look but to Heaven (to protect you).

(§ 50). On Ting-wéi (330th day), he gave an entertainment on mount Wan He examined the birds. (§ 51). On Ki-yiu (332nd day), the Son of Heaven gave an entertainment on the banks of the river Juh. He then issued official orders. He also commanded the troops of the six armies (to collect) the feathers. For here there is the swamp of with a freshwater lake, and here there is ground alternating with hills and plains, with plateaus and

heights, where the finest birds* shed their feathers. The troops of the six armies had all reached Kwang-yuen (Level Country).

Note.—The Son of Heaven stopped for three months at Kwang-yuen (Level Country).

(§ 52). (On) (day), the Son of Heaven gave a grand banquet to the principal Ministers, to the Princes and royal (attendants), and encouraged the commanders of the seven detachments (of his body guard). This was on the heights of Yü-ling† (Feather Hill). He then had the musical piece called Kwang-hoh performed. (§ 53). (On) (day), the troops of the six armies were employed at a grand hunt at Kwang-yuen (Level Country), when an endless number of animals was killed, so much so that the birds and wild animals of that region were exterminated altogether. The troops of the six armies having been occupied with this great hunt for nine days, encamped then on (the heights of) Yü(-ling), where they collected all the skins and sorted all the other trophies, and they had to borrow cars to lade them all. The Son of Heaven had thus a hundred cars laden with feathers (alone). (§ 54.) On Ki-hai (382nd day), the Lord of Heaven turned eastwards on his return journey. The six armies started (§ 55.) On Kang-tsz (383rd day), he reached the mountains of

* In a note to the Bamboo Books the words 青鳥 (azure birds) are substituted for 碩鳥 'fine birds.' The Note (see Legge, p. 151) says, 'The King, in his expedition to the North, travelled over the Shifting Sands for 1000 *li* and over Tsieh-yü (Heaps of Feathers) for 1000 *li*; he made an expedition against the K'üen Jung, whose five kings he seized and brought to the East; he made an expedition to the West to the place where the azure birds cast their feathers (the hill of San-wei); the expedition to the West covered 190,000 *li*.' Dr. Legge's translation is here improved upon. The Notes to the Bamboo Books are evidently throughout from a much later hand.

† This is evidently the Tsieh-yü 精羽 mentioned in the Note to the Bamboo Books.

.....and rested here in order to wait for the troops of the six armies. (§ 56.) On Kang-shan (403rd day), the Son of Heaven marched eastward. (§ 57.) On Kwéi-wéi (406th day), he reached the mountains of Wu.....where the Chi tribe is settled. (§ 58.) (On)(day), (the chief of) the Chi(tribe) came to meet the Son of Heaven on the mountains of Wu.....and presented, in recognition of the toils (of the journey), two serviceable white steeds, also forty wild horses and wild cattle and seventy watch dogs. He then made an offering of 400 fattened horses and 3000 heads of cattle and sheep.

Note.—(The chief of) the Chi tribe..... (went with) the Son of Heaven on an excursion to the North as far as the lake of Luh* (?) -tsz.

The people of the Chi tribe made an offering of 100.....of wine which they presented to the Son of Heaven, whereupon the Son of Heaven bestowed on them (some gems called) *keu-lung-ts'ai*, two (times) nine jars of yellow gold, forty strings of cowries, 300 bundles of pearls of red colour, and 100..... (pieces) of cassia and ginger. The people then did obeisance kneeling and accepted those presents. (§ 59.) On Yueh-yiu (408th day), the Son of Heaven marched southwards and then turned back towards the East. (§ 60.) On Ki-ch'eu (412th day), he reached the river Hien. Thence he marched forthwith eastwards, (stopping merely) to (let the people) drink and proceeded again. He then turned forthwith towards the South-east. (§ 61.) On Ki-hai (422nd day), he reached the mountains of Kwa-lu which form a triple ring like a walled city. This is the region guarded by the Yah and Hu tribes. The Son of Heaven then marched forthwith in an easterly direction and, by a turn to the South, crossed the

* The character 綠 or 繡 is not to be found in Kanghi.

sandy plains. (§ 62.) On Sin-ch'eu (424th day), the Son of Heaven was famishing with thirst in the sandy plains, when some went to search for drinking water. But before it was brought, one of the commanders of the seven detachments (of his body guard), called Kao Pän-jung, cut the throat of his left-hand carriage-horse, gathered the pure blood and gave it to the Son of Heaven to drink. The Son of Heaven found it delicious.* He then bestowed on Pän-jung one of his own girdle-pendants of gem. Pän-jung did obeisance repeatedly, knocking his head on the ground. The Son of Heaven then marched forthwith towards the South. (§ 63.) On Kiah-shän (427th day), he reached the border† of mount Tsih. Here there are specimens of *dolichost*‡ and cypress.

Note.—(The chief of) the Ch'eu-yü tribe, called Ming-wai, made an offering of wine which he presented to the Son of Heaven.

The Son of Heaven then bestowed on him (some) jars of yellow gold, (some) strings of cowries, and 70 bundles of pearls of red colour. Ming-wai then did obeisance kneeling and accepted these (presents). (§ 64.) On Yueh-ki (428th day), (the chief of the tribe called) Chu-kan made an offering of wine which he presented to the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven bestowed on him (some) jars of yellow gold, (some) strings of cowries and 70 bundles of pearls of red colour. Chu Kan then did obeisance kneeling and accepted (the presents).

End of the third section of the Muh-t'ien-

* The drinking of blood, mentioned here and repeatedly below without comment, is one of the many indications with which our text abounds, that we have here to do with a document of some antiquity.

† The character 邊 is given in Kanghi, but it is said that its pronunciation is unknown.

‡ The character 蔓 is given in Kanghi in the Supplement, where it is said that it is probably the same as 蔓.

tsz chuen (Narrative of the Son of Heaven posthumously called Muh).

SECTION IV.

(§ 65.) On Kang-shān (443rd day), he reached the river T'ao, the water of which is used as drinking water by the Choh-yao tribe. (§ 66.) On Sin-tsz (464th day), the Son of Heaven marched towards the East. (§ 67.) On Kwéi-wéi (466th day), he reached the valley of Su, (where there are trees whose bark) the Kuh-han people turn into garments. He then marched forthwith in a southerly direction and then turned back towards the East. (§ 68.) On Ping-suh (469th day), he reached (mount) Ch'ang-sha,* which forms the western boundary of the country of the Ch'ung-lai† tribe. (§ 69.) On Ting-hai (470th day), the Son of Heaven ascended (mount) Ch'ang-sha. He then marched forthwith towards the East. (§ 70.) On Kang-yin (472nd day), he reached the slope near the river Hoh (Black) in the country of the Ch'ung-lai tribe. Here there is wild wheat. Here there is also (a species of rice called) Tah-kin, which is called tree-rice by the people of the Western Desert, and forms the food of the Ch'ung-lai tribe. Here there is also a mountain with variegated stones, which is guarded by people of the Ch'ung-lai tribe.

Note.—The chi-sze, süen-hwui, moh-yao, lang-kan, ling-lung‡ (§), k'ien-chih,† yü-

* The character 淡 is not given in Kanghi. I assume that it is meant for 沙.

† The character 譚 is not given in Kanghi. I assume that it is meant for 翟.

‡ The character, 璣 is not given in Kanghi. [Kwo Poh also declares it to be an unknown character, but nevertheless gives its pronunciation as chih, 璣. This character, however, is evidently meant to give the pronunciation of the next but one following character. There is some confusion in Kwoh's note.] The character 璣 more likely stands for 璣, which elsewhere occurs in this combination.

k'i and luh*(?)—mi, all of which are implements of precious stone, are obtained from this place.

(§ 71). In the first month of autumn, on Kwéi-tsz (475th day), the Son of Heaven ordered the Ch'ung-lai tribe to supply the retinue of the Son of Heaven with provisions for five days. (§ 72.) On Ting-yao (479th day), the Son of Heaven ascended the mountain of variegated stones, and here it was that he obtained his variegated stones. The Son of Heaven also ordered the people of the Ch'ung-lai tribe to fuse these stones, so as to make them into (various sorts of) implements, on the banks of the river Hoh (Black). Thus (he obtained) implements such as ornaments of dress and articles useful as girdle pendants without number.

Note.—The Son of Heaven rested here for one month.

(§ 73). In autumn, on Kwéi-hai (505th day), the Son of Heaven gave a feast to the chief of the Ch'ung-lai tribe, called Kwan-yuen‡ (§). He then bestowed on this chief two (times) nine jars of yellow gold, one raven made of silver, 50 strings of cowries, 700 bundles of pearls, some (specimens of an arrow called) siao-tsien, 100 圓 § (§) of cassia and ginger, also some silk ribbons|| and (gems called) tiao-kwan. Kwan-yuen

* The character 微 is not given in Kanghi. Kwoh Poh also says it is unknown.

† The character 解 is not given in Kanghi. It is probably meant for 鯨 Kwan.

‡ The character 獫 is absolutely unknown to the dictionaries. Kwoh Poh passes it over without remark.

§ The character 圓 is given in Kanghi but with the note, 'pronunciation and meaning unknown.' The context here plainly shows that it must mean either a piece of or stand for a certain weight. See below.

|| The character 綯 is, according to Kang-hi's Supplement, also written 綯 and stands for 綯.

(?) then did obeisance kneeling and received (the presents). (§ 74.) On Yueh-ch'eu (507th day), the Son of Heaven marched towards the East. Kwan-yuen (?) accompanied the Son of Heaven as far as the mountains of Ch'ang-sha a piece. The Son Heaven commissioned Poh-yao to receive these (presents on his behalf). Poh-yao stated that the ancestors of the Ch'ung-lai tribe were the..... of the San-miao* tribes place, and (bestowed on him further) yellow wood, 𠄎† (?) silver and variegated then did obeisance kneeling and accepted (these presents). (§ 75.) On Ping yin (508th day), the Son of Heaven marched eastwards and then turned back towards the South. (§ 76.) On Ki-tsz (511th day), he reached mount Wăn which the people of the Western Desert call..... they gave a feast to the Son of Heaven on mount Wăn. The people of the Western Desert then made an offering of 300 fattened horses, 2000 heads of cattle and sheep and 1000 cart loads of non-glutinous rice. The Son of Heaven commissioned Pih-Kü to receive these (presents on his behalf).

Note.—The Son of Heaven strolled about on mount Wăn for three days and here (also) he obtained variegated stones.

(§ 77.) On Yan-yin (544th day), the Son of Heaven entertained (the chief of these people) at a banquet held at the foot of mount Wăn. Kwéi-wei, (the chief) of the people of mount Wăn, then made an offering of ten quaternions of thoroughbred horses, 300 serviceable oxen, 90 watch dogs, 200 heads of fine cattle, such as can travel (like camels) over the shifting sands (of the Desert). The Son of Heaven selected from his own finest horses, from his finest cattle, from his best hounds, and from his finest sheep, thirty head (from each kind) and offered them in sacrifice (to the god of the

mountain) on mount Wăn. He further bestowed (on Kwéi-wei) two (times) nine jars of yellow gold, 30 strings of cowries, 300 bundles of pearls and 100 𣎵 (?) of cassia and ginger. Kwéi-wei then did obeisance kneeling and received (the presents). (§ 78.) On Kwéi-yao (576th day), he got ready. The inside horse on the right hand (of the shaft) was (the horse called) hwa-liao and the inside horse on the left hand luh-rh. The off-horse on the left hand poh-i. The Son of Heaven occupied the central seat in the carriage. Tsao-fu acted as charioteer. T'ai-p'ing took the right-hand place. The auxiliary carriage was harnessed as follows. The inside horse on the right hand was k'ü-hwang and on the left yü-lun. The (off-horse) on the right hand was t'ao-li and on the left hand shan-tsz. Poh-yao occupied the central seat in this carriage, Ts'an-poh acted as charioteer, and Pän-jung took the right hand place. The Son of Heaven then proceeded forthwith in a south-easterly direction, with the utmost speed, the horses being kept at a gallop for 1000 li (at a stretch), until he reached the country of the Kü-sheu (tribe), (the chief of which, called) Yoh*-nu, then made an offering of white swans, the blood of which he gave to the Son of Heaven to drink. Accordingly he prepared also milk from cows and sheep and washed therewith the feet of the Son of Heaven, and (the feet) of the inmates of the auxiliary carriage. (§ 79.) On Kiah-suh (577th day), Yoh-nu, the chief of the Kü-sheu (tribe), gave a feast to the Son of Heaven on the mountain of Fan-liu, and then made an offering of 300 horses, 5000 heads of cattle and sheep, 1000 cart loads of autumn barley and thirty cart loads of pellicled millet. The Son of Heaven commissioned Poh-yao to receive

* San-miao frequently mentioned in the Shu King.

† This character is absolutely unknown to dictionaries and commentators alike.

* The character 彌 is given in Kanghi, 'pronunciation and meaning unknown.' It is however supposed probable that it may be the ancient form of 若 yoh.

these (presents in his name). Moreover, in token of amity (the chief) made an offering of forty chi-sz stones, 100 pieces of 箇* 錫* 鬲*, 錫† and pih-pendants, also forty pieces of lang-kan and ten baskets (of a kind of cloth called) 𦃟† 𦃟‡. The Son of Heaven commissioned Tsao Fu to receive these (presents in his name)

. (The Son of Heaven) then bestowed (on Yoh-nu) some silver wood and 錫§ (?) -ts'ai, also two (times) nine jars of yellow gold, forty strings of cowries, 300 bundles of pearls and 100 蘭 (?) of cassia and ginger. Yoh-nu then did obeisance kneeling and received (the presents). (§ 80.) On Yueh-hai (579th day), the Son of Heaven marched southwards, (as far as) the eastern spur of (the mountains of) Yang-ngeu. Then he forthwith crossed the valley of 𦃟𦃟||, whereby he reached, on the northern slope, the waters of the Ho at a place 𦃟𦃟¶. Here there is the of K'ü** (P)-seu. On that mountain on which (Poh-yao) the descendant of Ho-poh (or Ho-tsung, the god of the Ho) entered the service of the King, the Son of Heaven, there is (a tree called) Wu-kin, the leaves of which he (Poh-yao) now gave to the illustrious Prince (the Son of Heaven) to eat. The Son of Heaven praised him for it and bestowed on him one of his own girdle pendants of gem.

* These 3 characters are given in Kanghi but with the remark 'pronunciation unknown.'

† These 2 characters are unknown to dictionaries and commentators.

‡ This character is given in Kanghi, but with the note 'pronunciation unknown.'

§ This character is given in Kanghi, and said to be another form of 錫 but with the note 'both pronunciation and meaning are unknown.'

|| These two characters are unknown to dictionaries and commentators.

¶ These two characters are unknown to dictionaries and commentators.

** The character 𦃟 is unknown to dictionaries, but as elsewhere a kingdom of 渠搜 is mentioned, it is quite probable that this unknown character here stands for 渠 k'ü. See above Note to § 21.

Poh-yao made repeated obeisances, knocking his head on the ground. (§ 81.) On Kwéi-ch'eu (617th day), the Son of Heaven marched eastward. Poh-yao accompanied the Son of Heaven as far as the country of the Päng tribe. The (chief of the) Päng (tribe), called Poh-sü gave a feast to the Son of Heaven on the shore of the lake (or marsh) of Ts'ao. (On reaching) the bank of the (river called) 𦃟*-to, a tributary of the Ho, he turned back towards the South.

Note.—The Son of Heaven rested for five days on the shore of the lake (or marsh) of Ts'ao, in order to wait for the troops of the six armies.

(§ 82.) On Wu-wu (622nd day), the Son of Heaven marched eastward. On this occasion he commanded Poh-yao to return to his own country. The Son of Heaven said, 'Let the descendant of Ho-tsung stop† now.' Poh-yao made repeated obeisances, knocking his head on the ground. (Subsequently), the Son of Heaven turned back towards the South, and ascended the pass of Ch'ang-ts'ung (the tall fir trees). (§ 83.) In the first month of winter, on Jan-suh (626th day), he reached the mountains of Léi-sheu where the Hu (tribe, a branch of the) K'üen-Jung‡ gave a feast to the Son of Heaven on the slope of mount Léi-sheu and then made an offering of four (times) six fattened horses. The Son of Heaven commissioned K'ung-ya to receive them.

Note.—On the plain, near the river Léi, there are few people living, owing to the cold, but there are to be found dogs, horses, sheep and cattle.

Here there are black cattle with white horns, and here there are also black sheep whose blood is white. (§ 84.) On Kwéi-hai (627th day), the Son of Heaven marched southwards, and then ascended the pass

* Kanghi gives this character but states that its pronunciation is unknown.

† I read 止 in instead of 正.

‡ Or, where Hu (the chief of the tribe known as the) K'üen-jung gave a feast.

of T'sz. (§ 85.) On Ping-yin (630th day), the Son of Heaven reached the defiles of mount Ying and then turning to the East ascended the pass called San-tao (Three Roads). He then stopped for the night at I-pien (Two Sides), where he ordered Pan (duke) of Mao and Ku (the duke) of Fung to go ahead until they reached Cheu (China Proper) where they were to wait for the orders of the (Son of) Heaven. (§ 86.) On Kwéi-yiu (637th day), the Son of Heaven ordered the eight-steed carriage to be got ready with the four horses of the Ch'ih-k'i breed harnessed to it, when Ts'ao-fu acted as charioteer. (§ 87.) (On)..... (day), he marched southward and proceeding with the utmost speed, he cut right across to Tih-tao, ascended (mount) T'ai-hang, and then crossed the Ho in the South, the horses having been kept at a gallop, for a distance of 1000 *li*. Forthwith he entered the ancestral hall of the Cheu family, when the officials presented the blood of a white swan which they gave to the Son of Heaven to drink. They also washed with it the feet of the Son of Heaven. Ts'ao-fu then prepared some sheep's blood which he gave to the whole team of four horses to drink. (§ 88.) On Kang-shān (644th day), the Son of Heaven held a grand levée in the ancestral hall of Tsung-cheu*. He then calculated the distances (of his journey through) the countries of the West.

Li

Note.—Distance from the Cheu family's seat (i.e. from China) at the river Ch'en, westward as far as mount Yang-ngen in the country of Ho Tsung..... 3400

From Yang-ngen westward as far as (the country of) the Western Hia tribe..... 2500

From the Western Hia as far as the country of Ho-sheu in the regions of the Chu-ts'ü tribe..... 1500

* This place is mentioned in the Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 150.

From mount Yang in the country of Ho-sheu, south-westward as far as mount Chung with the (marsh of) Chü-tseh and the heights of Kwän-lun 700

From mount Chung westward as far as mount Chung in the country of the Ch'ih-wu tribe 300

From there he turned back to the North-East as far as mount K'ün-yuh which is situated North of, but (by impassable mountains) cut off from, mount Chung (near Chü-tseh).

From mount K'ün-yuh westward as far as the country of Si-wang-mu 3000

From the country of Si-wang-mu northwards as far as the wilds of Kwang-yuen where the winged birds shed their feathers..... 1900

13,300

Or roughly.....14,000

From the seat of the Cheu family to the great plain of Kwang-yuen in the North-West of it.....14,000

From there (Kwang-yuen) turning back to the South-East until he reached once more mount Yang-ngen.. 7,000

From there (Yang-ngen) turning back and returning to Cheu (China Proper) 3,000

The sum total of the distances travelled on all occasions (including excursions off the main route) amounted to*38,000

(§ 89). On a lucky day (specially selected) viz. on Kiah-shān (648th day), the Son of Heaven offered sacrifices in the ancestral temple of the Cheu tribe. (§ 90.) On Yueh-yiu (649th day) the Son of Heaven the troops of the six armies on the banks of the river Loh. (§ 91). On Ting-hai (651st day), the Son of Heaven, proceeding northwards crossed the Ho..... the defiles of Ti, and then, proceeding towards the North-West, he ascended (the mountains of) Mäng-men (until he reached)

* In a Note to the Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 151, the total is given as 190,000 *li*.

the defiles of Kiu-ho (the Nine Rivers), whereupon he turned forthwith towards the South-West. (§ 92). In the second moon of winter, on Jan-shān (656th day), he reached the summit of mount 藥* (?), whereupon he had the musical piece called Kwang-hoh performed, which (performance) was not brought to a close until the third day. (§ 93.) On a lucky day (specially selected),

* This character is unknown to dictionaries and commentators.

viz. on Ting-yiu (661st day), the Son of Heaven entered Nan-ch'ing (district city).*

* The subsequent sections close with the words, 'the Son of Heaven entered Nan-ching.' Hence it seems that on the expeditions detailed in Sections V and VI the King started from Nan-ching, where he built the palace of Chi in B.C. 961. See Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 149. See also § 128. At the very first he set out from Nan-ching. The political capital in Muh's time was Si-ch'ing. See Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 149.

SECTION V.

ANCIENT TEXT.

(§ 94.).....a place of treasures.

Note.—The Son of Heaven rested for four days at the marsh (or lake) of Hwob.

Here it was that he went bird-shooting and hunted wild animals. (§ 95.) On Ting-ch'eu (701st day), the Son of Heaven..... it rained. He then reached (the place). Ts'ai-fu came from P'u-ching to have audience. Liu-kwan* handed in (to the Son of Heaven) 100 pieces of gem stone. (The chief of the tribe of) Tsun-tih came and made an offering of 100 quaternions of thoroughbred horses, and handed in the treasures (they had carried off as spoils) from the country of Pih, whereby (the Son of Heaven) was enabled to arrange a settlement which terminated† (the quarrel between the people of Tsun-tih and Pih). A viscount (of Tsun-tih), called Ch'en-hu..... the eastern (Mount) Meu, when he (the Son of Heaven) granted

* Or, (the chief of a tribe called) Liu-kwan.

† See however § 117.

an audience to a baron of Hū on the banks of the (river) Yiu. Ts'ai-fu, acting under the orders of the Son of Heaven, declined to admit him, telling him to take away the lamb (which the baron had brought as a ceremonial offering) and to use instead gems and silk for (the ceremonial purposes of) the audience. The baron of Hū then dared not refuse (the honour thus done him). So he turned back and then brought a piece of silk to which he added the round rank-token (of jade).....The duke of Mao then handed up his tribute offerings of gem. On the same day the Son of Heaven entertained the baron of Hū at a banquet given on the banks of the (river) Yiu. On this occasion, the Son of Heaven said (to the baron), 'I am not (a prince) of your country of Hū and yet I am in sympathy with all classes of your people.....so you, being as it were my uncle, need not observe the usual ceremonial in banquetting with me at this private meal.' The baron of Hū dared not decline the honour thus done him, so he went up and took the higher seat next to the buffet, and forthwith the music used at private meals was

played. The Son of Heaven then bestowed on the baron of Hū 16 horses of the Tsun breed. The baron of Hū, having come down from his seat and done repeated obeisances, knocking his head on the ground, forthwith went up and took a seat on a level (with that of the Son of Heaven). When night came on, the Son of Heaven dismissed the baron of Hū, who thereupon returned to his home. (§ 96.) On Kwai-hai (747th day), the Son of Heaven went on board a barge shaped like a bird and (towed by) dragons and thus floated down to Ta-chao (the Great Pool). (§ 97.) In the month of summer, on Kang-wu (754th day), the Son of Heaven held a banquet on the banks of the (river) Yiu, whereupon he dispatched Ts'ai-fu, to proceed to P'u-ching and to use all the princes. (§ 98.) On Sin-wéi (755th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded northwards and then made a detour to angle in the lake of Tsien and had a meal of fish in the wilds of Sang. (§ 99.) On Ting-ch'eu (761st day), the Son of Heaven had the roads of P'u-t'ien surveyed, eastwards as far as (the department of) Fang, westwards as far as the heights of southwards as far as the wilds of Sang, and northwards through the whole extent of Lin-chu the swamps of, the distance from North to South being 50 ten (hunters') stations. The (two) eastern stations were called Tu-t'ai. The western stations were called Lih-yiu. The southern stations were called -fu-yiu. The northern stations were called Siang-k'i. The (two central) headquarter stations were called -lai. The situation of those 10 stations (§ 100.) On-shān (764th day), the Son of Heaven resided for a while at Kiün-yiu, and took the opportunity to hunt in the swamps of (§ 101.) On Kiah-yin (799th day), the Son of Heaven had a temporary palace constructed to reside in whilst watching the workmen in the mulberry plantations. He then gave a banquet

under the mulberry trees. The Son of Heaven also commanded the guardian of the mulberry plantations to issue (an edict for the information of) the workmen on the mulberry grounds, and to use strict measures to restrain lawless people. (§ 102.) In the second month of summer, on Kiah-shān (829th day), the Son of Heaven, places. (§ 103.) On Kang-yin (835th day), he went on an excursion towards the West. He then stopped for a night at Ts'ai. (§ 104.) On Jan-shān (837th day), the duke of Ts'ai entertained the Son of Heaven at a banquet. He then recited (chanting) the ode called Hao* (?) -t'ien. The Son of Heaven commanded (him also) to recite (chanting) the ode called Nan shan yiu t'ai† (?). They continued then the feast and its enjoyments. (§ 105.) On Ting-yiu (842nd day), the Son of Heaven had an observatory constructed to be used also as his western residence. (§ 106.) On Jan-yin (847th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded eastwards till he reached Tsioh-liang. (§ 107.) On Kiah-shān (849th day), he had a sail on the river Ying and then had the musical piece called Kwáng-hoh performed. (§ 108.) In the last month of summer, on Kang-suh (855th day), he rested in a temporary palace. (§ 109.) In the second month of autumn, on Ting-tsz (862nd day), the Son of Heaven went deer-stalking in the forest. He then gave a banquet in the territory of the Mǎng tribe. Here a posturing performance was given by twice eight egrets. He then turned back and rested for a night at Tsioh-liang. (§ 110.) In the last month of autumn, on Sin-tsz

* This character 昊 is unknown to dictionaries, but as in the Shi-king an ode occurs called 昊天, it is surmised by Kwoh Poh that this unknown character may stand for 昊 hao.

† The character 臺 is unknown to dictionaries, but as there is in the Shi King an ode entitled 南山有臺, it is supposed by Kwoh Poh that it stands for 臺 t'ai.

(887th day), the Son of Heaven reviewed the troops at.....*li*, when the (above mentioned) guardians waited upon him, one after the other. (§ 111.) In the first month of winter, a flock of migratory birds arrived, when the royal princes and high officersshooting. (§ 112.) In the second month of winter, on *Ting-yin* (906th day), the Son of Heaven went shooting wild animals. He rested at *Shāa-kwan*.* There were shot tailed deer, hornless deer, wild boars and stags to the number of 420 heads. Two tigers also were shot and nine wolves. He then offered the animals in sacrifice to the ancient kings, and then ordered the cooks to roast the meat. (§ 113.) On *Wuh-suh* (907th day), the Son of Heaven went on an excursion to the West, and went shooting in *Chung*.....when there was a fall of(snow) which covered the brushwood. Trees are rare (in that region). He then ordered the guardians to clear the forests and to remove the jungle and to give the materials to the people to use (as firewood). On that day, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward and entered (the city of) *Ping*, where he played with the duke of *Tsing*† a game of chess which lasted three days before the game was decided. (§ 114.) On *Sin-ch'eu* (910th day), a stockade having been erected (on a hill), the Son of Heaven came to this observatory. It was then the season of great heat (23rd July.) Preparations were made to enable the Son of Heaven to reside at the observatory and attend there to the affairs of the empire, when there came from a far country a man, whose skill was such that all yielded to his influence. Now that man engaged (with the Son of Heaven) in various divinatory calculations, for the powerful gifts of this mysterious man.....consisted in his ability to take observations in all directions. The Son of Heaven was fond of this man and ordered him to.....and at times

* Or, in the depths of the jungle.

† No duke of *Tsing* is mentioned in the *Bamboo Books*.

.....indeed.....A man called-kung. So he dismissed the carriage attendants.....like.....there was a tiger among the rushes. The Son of Heaven was about to reach the place. So one of the officers of the seven detachments (of the body guard), *Kao Pān-jung*, asked for permission to seize the tiger alive with the condition of bringing him uninjured in any way. Thereupon he seized the tiger alive and presented him like an offering. The Son of Heaven commanded him to put the tiger into a cage and to have him reared at the eastern guardians' station. That place was thenceforth called *Fu-lu** (*Tiger Stable*). The Son of Heaven bestowed on *Pān-jung* ten quaternions of hunting horses and gave him also large sacrificial animals (oxen, sheep and pigs). *Pan-jung* did repeated obeisances, knocking his head on the ground. (§ 115.) On *Ping-shān* (925th day), the Son of Heaven went on an excursion towards the North among the forests, on which he received the high instructions (of Heaven), whereupon he returned. (§ 116.) In the second month of autumn, on *Kiah-suh* (943rd day), the Son of Heaven went on an excursion towards the East. He stayed a while at *Tsioh-liang*.....(and dried) the worm-eaten documents at *Yü-ling*. (§ 117.) In the last month of autumn, (on) (day), he.....and on this occasion he stopped a night at *Fang*. The people of *Pih* brought a complaint against the *Jung* (tribe), stating that the *Tsun-tih*† (branch of the *Jung* tribe) had stealthily attacked them. The Son of Heaven commissioned *Māng-yü* to proceed to *Pih* and to punish the *Jung*.† The death of *Kiu*, marquis of

* The *Bamboo Books*, by an excusable anachronism, mention this place under the 14th year of *Muh*, saying, 'in the winter there was a grand hunt in the marsh of *P'ing*. He built *Fu-lu*.' Legge, p. 150.

† See above § 95. In the *Bamboo Books*, Legge p. 150, it is stated that *Muh*, 5 years before this expedition began, punished the *K'uen Jung*.

Foh, was announced. The Son of Heaven then came to Kiün-k'iu and hunted in the swamps. (§ 118.) In the last month of winter, on Kiah-suh (1003rd day), the Son of Heaven made an excursion towards the East. He held a banquet at Liu-k'ü, practised archery by using a painted tiger for a target, and studied literature at Li-k'iu.... made an offering of wine which he presented to the Son of Heaven who, on this occasion, had the musical piece called Kwang-hoh performed. The Son of Heaven, having (some time previous) lost his mysterious drum, because it had become transformed into a yellow snake (and disappeared), now heard, on this day, the same drum from under-ground giving forth its usual sound. Accordingly he planted there some t'ung (Euphorbiacea) trees, the wood of which, when made into drums, has forthwith a mysterious power and moreover such a loud sound that it is of advantage in fighting the Jung (tribes), and when (that same wood) is made into lutes, the effect is..... at the Yellow Marsh. (The Son of Heaven) made an excursion towards the East to the Yellow Marsh and stopped a night at (the river) Loh in K'üh. (The musical piece called) Fai..... caused the palace musicians to chant the following stanzas:—

At the Yellow Lake,


The horses spurted out sand.

The Emperor is majestic in his deportment.

At the Yellow Marsh,

The horses spurted out gems.

The Emperor will live for ever.

(§ 119.) On Ping-shān (1025th day), the Son of Heaven went on an excursion towards the South to the Yellow.... the heights at the residence, in order to view the dwelling of K'ü of the Hia Dynasty. On this occasion..... at the residence of K'ü. The Son of Heaven consulted (the oracle of) the milfoil about a hunt to be held in the marshes of P'ing. In arranging (the milfoil stalks in) diagrams, he obtained the hexagram  called Tsung. The duke of Fung interpreted the meaning of the oracle in

the following terms. 'The several lines of the hexagram Tsung exhibit the swamps and marshes in exuberant luxuriance, and in the centre..... should be the duty of the Prime Minister. Then, any military affairs will prosper, sacrificial offerings will be acceptable (to the gods), and the hunt will be a real success.' (§ 120.)..... he entertained the duke of Fung at a banquet and bestowed on him 16 fine horses, 30 boxes of fine and coarse hempen cloth, whereupon the duke of Fung made repeated obeisances, knocking his head on the ground. He also bestowed a fox (skin) on the officer in charge of the milfoil. (§ 121.)..... when there was great darkness and rain, (the Son of Heaven) beheld in a dream a god, whom he worshipped. This affair was considered doubly unpropitious. The Son of Heaven then rested there, when, in the middle of the day, it became intensely cold, and a northerly wind brought rain and snow, so much so that some people were frozen to death. The Son of Heaven composed thereon three odes, to express his sympathy with the people, in the following words.

I proceeded to the Yellow Bamboos

.....suffered extremities of cold.

The Emperor will repair the roads in all directions,

But oh! ye my dukes and marquises,

And ye hundreds of officers and hereditary nobles,

Do ye govern the myriads of my people,

Without remissness from morn till night.

I proceeded to the Yellow Bamboos,

.....suffered extremities of cold.

The Emperor will repair the roads in all directions,

But, oh! ye my dukes and marquises,

And ye hundreds of officers and hereditary nobles,

Do ye govern the myriads of my people

Without oppression from morn till night.

Behold the white coloured loh (birds),

How they flutter to and fro!

But oh! ye my dukes and marquises,

.....
.....Do not drive them away
from their homes.

True, they have but little happiness where
they now dwell,

But if they must be removed to some other
place,

Do ye make my people happy by observing
the rules of propriety.

The Son of Heaven also exclaimed (on this occasion), 'It is because I, the principal man (of the empire), am given to self-indulgence, that the myriads of my people are not governed (properly).' (§ 122.)..... he ascended. He stopped on this occasion for a night at the Yellow Bamboos (name of a place). The Son of Heaven dreamed that he saw (the famous archer, called) I, shooting on mount T'u. The duke of Tsai* interpreted the dream and explained.....it. (§ 123.)..... On this occasion he stopped a night at mount K'üh. (§ 124.) On Jan-shan (1061st day), the Son of Heaven went westward and ascended mount K'üh. (§ 125.)..... the Son of Heaven marched westwards and ascended the Kiu-ho (Ninefold River), and then turning southwards he stopped for a night at Tan-hwang. (§ 126.) On Wu-yin (1067th day), the Son of Heaven went westwards and ascended the Yang..... (§ 127.).....he crossed the Lingplayed chess with the duke of Tsing, whereupon he mounted the carriage drawn by deer and went on an excursion to the summit of the mountain, where he had a statue put up in stone andto Ting-ling on which occasion he stopped for a while in front of the river Teu. (§ 128.) On a lucky day (specially selected), viz., on Ting-hai (1076th day), the Son of Heaven entered Nan-ching (district-city).

* Probably the same as 'Men-fu, duke of Tsai' mentioned in the Bamboo Books, Legge, p. 150.

SECTION VI.

(§ 129.) interval of....
.....At the Emperor's gate he then.....
nine temples for the ancient kings, in order to perpetuate his memory among after generations. (§ 130.) On Ki-tsz (1118th day), the Son of Heaven marched.....and lodged for a while at the observatory of Tsie. (§ 131.) On Sin-méi (1120th day), he hunted the wild beasts of Tsie. It was then that it happened that one out of a number of white stags knocked against the carriage in a rush and then burst through and ran off. The Son of Heaven was mounted on the carriage drawn by (horses of the) K'u-wang (breed).....horses.... so the Son of Heaven gave those heights a name, calling them Wu-luh (Five Stags). The.....of some of the officialsthese heights.....its skin. Hence this place was called... ..—p'i (skin)—.....its dried meat. Hence this place was thenceforth called—fu (dried meat). The Son of Heaven held a banquet on the banks of the river T'ah. Some of the officials had dressed (the flesh of) the stag and presented it here to the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven found it excellent. Hence this place was thenceforth called Kan (sweet). (§ 132.) On Kwéi-yiu (day), the Son of Heaven proceeded southwards and offered a white stag in sacrifice to (the god of) the river T'ah.....He then proceeded westwards and held a banquet on the grass, where also a grand performance of the musical piece called Kwang-hoh was given. Hence this place was thenceforth called Loh-jin (Rejoicing People). (§ 133.) On Kiah-suh (1123rd day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a north-westerly direction,..... Ki being the name of her clan.* She was

* As there is here a lacuna in the text, it is impossible to say whether the surname of the lady here referred to, and whom Muh T'ien-tsz took to wife, was simply Ki, which was Muh T'ien-tsz's own surname, or Shing-

a daughter of Shing-poh, wherefore the Son of Heaven bestowed on him (Shing-poh) the position of Chief of the heads of the clan Ki.* Hence this place was thenceforth called Shing-mên. The Son of Heaven also had an observatory built here, and this was thenceforth called the observatory of Ch'ung-pih (Double Ranktokens). (§ 134.) On Muh-yin (1127th day), the Son of Heaven went towards the East and hunted in the marshes, when he was taken ill with a shivering fit. So the Son of Heaven encamped† for a while in the midst of the marsh. But then (Lady) Shing-ki was pronounced to be (seriously) ill. The Son of Heaven sympathized with her. the marsh was henceforth called Han-shi (Cold). Lady Shing-ki was desirous to get something to drink, whereupon the Son of Heaven ordered some persons to get some broth and gave it to her. Hence this place was thenceforth called Hu-chw'an (Bowl-hearse). The Son of Heaven then proceeded westwards, until he reached the observatory of Ch'ung-pih. Here the illness of Lady Shing-ki was announced to (have terminated in death). The Son of Heaven bewailed her. Hence this place was thenceforth called Ngai-t'sz (Halting-place of Wailing) ‡ The Son of Heaven then caused Lady Shing-

ki. The latter is more probably correct, because in §134 she is forthwith styled Shing-ki. See above, Preface of Wang Mo.

* The words 上姬 Shang-ki are probably a slip of the pen for 盛姬 Shing-ki, in which case there can be no doubt but that the clan of the lady was Shing-ki and not Ki.

† The context seems to indicate that 舍 is here used in the sense 'to encamp.'

‡ It is remarkable that this term 哀次 is mentioned in the I-li, as the technical name for that place at the outer gate where, at every funeral, the hearse, after coming forth from the inner court, has to halt a while. See *China Review*, XII, p. 147.

ki's body* to lie in state in her coffin in the temple which stands on the heights of Kah- (§ 135.) On Jan'-yin (1151st day), the Son of Heaven commanded the (public) wailing† to be commenced. K'i was to act as presiding mourner, and Te'ai-fu as master of funeral ceremonies. The royal princess Shuh-tso, a daughter of the Son of Heaven, was to act as presiding mourner (for the female mourners) and the of the Son of Heaven as mistress of ceremonies to the same. These he commanded to conduct the mourning rites until they were brought to a close. Under these orders the sacrificial offerings (placed near the corpse) were arranged as for one who died a premature death‡ and the wail-

* The ceremony of 'calling the soul back' is not mentioned here. As a rule, the 'lesser dressing' of a dead body, 小斂, did not commence (under the three dynasties) until 3 days after death, in order to see if the soul of the departed would not come back. Then followed the 'greater dressing' 大斂 which consisted in the encoffining of the body with a large array of garments. After that came the ceremony called 殯, the removal of the body with the coffin to the place where it was to lie in state until the funeral.

† The principal mourners, as a rule, commenced to sob immediately after death, brothers and cousins 'wailed' and female relatives 'wailed and leaped.' But the general public wailing did not commence until the body had been placed under the window with the head to the South and the so-called 'slighter dressing' and the enshrouding performed. The public wailing then was continued, by relays of wailers, without any interruption, until the sacrifice of repose, after the burial, had been performed in the ancestral temple. See Legge, *Li-ki*, Vol. II, p. 175, 178 etc. and Vol. I, p. 171.

‡ The character 殯, which occurs here in the text, refers to the death of a person under nineteen years of age. The phrase 殯祀 implies therefore that the spirit of a person dying under age could not be offered the ordinary sacrifices. But below, in § 136, there is the phrase 觴祀 which means a libation poured out in sacrifice and which implies no reference to premature death. I pre-

ing was in accordance therewith. The recorder of the household took charge of the register* (of mourning presents) and the several officials (under him) (assisted him) in the performance of his duties. The sacrificial officer, called Tsang, superintended the spreading out of the mats and the arranging of the tables on which was placed an abundant supply of utensils used in eating, with the lungs (of the sacrificial animals) in brine and sauce, also dried meat in slices placed in a broth of dates, further sauces made of pickled fish and mashed leeks, with hundreds of other viands of raw meat distributed over 12 dishes, the dried meat being divided between 90 bowls, whilst there were tripods and stands for cereals with jars and bottles to the number of 40 pieces. The sacrificial officer, Tsang, then made a sacrificial offering of the first tit-bits of the meal. He next presented (on the shrine) some pickled lung, and poured a libation of wine, whereupon he offered (the whole of the viands) to I-ü, one of the chief mourners, who took charge of them after making his obeisance offered them in sacrifice. A lady likewise offered (the viands set out for female mourners) to Shuh-tso, the lady superintendent, whereupon Shuh-tso, having made her obeisance, took charge of them and offered them in sacrifice Then the sacrificial officer, Tsang, proclaimed the order of sacrifices and poured out a libation. The bandmaster next began the wailing ceremony and forthwith went to his station. When he had finished wailing, the recorder of the household (held in his hands) the register† of (mourning presents) and took

sume that 觴 in § 136 is a slip of the pen for 殤. See also Note * to § 136. The Han-wei-ts'ung-shu edition reads in both instances plainly 殤 and not 觴 at all.

* See Note below, marked †.

† According to the I-li, a 史 (Recorder) reads out of his tablets the names of

his turn in wailing. Next, the sacrificial officer, Tsang, waved (in sacrifice) the viands and then took his turn in wailing. The chamberlains read the prayers, and then took their turn in wailing. The dressers, having made a libation before the corpse,* next took their turn in wailing. The assistants, bearing their ladles,† next took their turn in wailing. (Other) assistants, with garments, shrouds, and girdle pendants then took their turn in wailing. The musicians . . . having spread out lutes, small and large, also reed organs, flutes, flageolets and pipes, next took their turn in wailing. All the various officials, each his official duties, then took their turn in wailing.

Note.—Both the gentlemen and the ladies had, in regular file, to leap‡ (at the wailing ceremony), and to perform the nine (postures) whereby the ceremony (of wailing) was completed.

I-hu, one of the chief mourners, after having performed the wailing ceremony, went outside to the mourning shed. The older and younger scions of the Imperial Clan, together with those that were at their respective stations (in the wailing ceremony), followed after him. Then (all the remaining) assistants performed the wailing ceremony and then took away

the donors and their gifts, the presents here referred to being only such as were given expressly for the funeral and which are to accompany the dead, who is therefore formally apprised in this ceremony of what has been done for him. This agrees with our text. But according to the I-li, the reading of the list of things is the last thing to be done before the hearse moves, whilst here it is done in front of the coffin lying in state in the temple, long before the funeral.

* I assume that 夕 is a slip of the pen for 尸.

† See Legge, *Li-ki*, Vol. II, p. 141.

‡ See *China Review*, XII, p. 16. Tsz Yiu said, 'As joy (which has its crisis in dancing) must be regulated (by formal dancing or posturing), so must also the manifestations of grief be regulated by such formal ceremonies as leaping.'

the jars, tripods, dishes and bowls. Then the whole mass of palace servants each his duties, took their turn in wailing and then went outside. One man, called Tsing-li, duties, afterwards went forth and was forthwith arrested. (§ 136.) On Kwéi-mao (1152nd day), the great wailing ceremony* was held, a sacrifice was offered as to one who died a premature death† and then the service of placing‡ (the spirit tablet) was performed. (§ 137.) On Kiah-shān (1153rd day), the Son of Heaven proceeded southwards to bury Shing-ki in the South of the lake of Hoh. The Son of Heaven, on this occasion, commanded that the burial of Shing-ki should be conducted in accordance with the rules in force concerning the burial of an Empress, excepting that she was not to be worshipped herself,§ and that therefore she should take rank after the princes.|| All the ceremonies (according to his orders) were to be completed between the (rivers) Ho and Tsi. The lieges of the three people

* I have not seen anywhere a distinction of a greater and lesser wailing ceremony, as is here indicated by the term 大哭.

† See above §135. My manuscript text here wrongly gives 鵠 instead of 殤.

‡ I am not sure about the meaning of this term 載 here. The Li Ki, Legge, Vol. II, p. 137, says, 'the tablet of a concubine was placed in the shrine of her husband's grandmother,' and again 'The tablet of an unmarried daughter was placed in the shrine of her grandmother but was not used at sacrifices.' But these ceremonies, according to the I-li, took place *after* the burial. A commentator says, as Shing-ki died a premature death (evidently reading 殤 for 鵠), her spirit could not be sacrificed to, and therefore they put one of her ancestor's tablets in the place of her own tablet and sacrificed to that. This interpretation I accept, as otherwise I cannot make sense of the words 亦不拜 in § 137.

§ Probably because she died a premature death, being so young.

|| As regards this passage, my translation is mere guess-work.

called Wei, Kuh and San-ch'ing,* were to act as rope bearers† for the hearse. The officers of the seven detachments were to act as assistants and to place the bier on the hearse. The sacrificial officer, Tsang, was to precede the hearse. The chief artizan was to guard the coffin, which (was decorated with) flags representing the sun and moon and emblazoned with the figure of the seven stars (of the Great Bear). Also drums and bells were to be used in the funeral procession, and dragon flags with Figures of birds were to form the rings‡ of the drums, figures of wild animals were to serve as rings of the bells, and figures of dragons were to serve as handles for the flags.

Note.—Both in front and in the rear of the funeral procession, and interspersed between the various parties performing the wailing and leaping ceremonies, there were to be, in all cases, bells and flags and (drums).

As to all the various articles and paraphernalia of the funeral, Tsing-li was to determine all details and to distribute them among the various parties of mourners, so that nothing whatever should be wanting. The drums were to be beaten whilst the funeral procession was moving on. The raising of the flags should be for the urging on of the people. Striking the bells should be the signal for stopping the wailing. The flags were to be lowered from time to time to give the people some relief.

Note.— (during) the offering of a sacrifice there was to be great wailing, and after nine (wailings) the ceremony was over.

When the hearse issued from the (outer) gate, the chief mourner forthwith took up his

* Probably branches of the tribe to which Shing-ki's father belonged.

† Ropes were attached to the hearse (drawn by horses), simply for the purpose of steadying it. *China Review*, VII, p. 144.

‡ The character 建 is here, as elsewhere, used interchangeably for 鍵 the ring of a tripod, etc.

station (at the head of the procession). The senior and junior heads of the Cheu family, with their sons and grandsons, came next to him. Next to them came the various princes with their retinues and the royal officers. Next to them came the outside officials of the royal household with the officers of the seven detachments. Next to them came the members of the Ki clan. Next to them came the various office-bearers. Next to them came the whole mass of officials and their underlings. Next to them, the seventh in order, came a band of wailers, with 30 rows of leapers, each row being formed of a hundred persons. Then the chief lady mourner forthwith took up her station. Next to her came the favoured concubines (of the Son of Heaven), with the whole of the ladies-in-waiting. Next to them came the royal princesses of the clan Ki, with their ladies. Next to them came the palace servants. Next to them came the concubines of distinguished palace officers. A band of (female) wailers formed the fifth detachment (of the female procession), followed closely by the (female) leapers.

Note.—The Son of Heaven had made an order that, after every *li* traversed by the funeral procession, the bells should be struck and the wailing stopped.

Note.—The chief artisan performed the wailing ceremony on the funeral carriage, whilst the sacrificial officer, Tsang, performed the wailing ceremony in front of the hearse, and the officers of the seven detachments performed the wailing ceremony at each station of the procession.

Note.—The lesser wailing ceremony consists of leaping in due order, but the wailers proceed onwards after three leapings (instead of nine) and after every five *li* traversed there is a rest.

Note.—After traversing a distance of 3 *shí* (or 90 *li*) the procession reached the place (above mentioned) called Ngai-tsz. After traversing a distance of 5 *shí* (or 150 *li*),

the procession reached the observatory of Ch'ung-pih, where a halt was made.

The Son of Heaven then caused the waters of the river Ku-yiu to be led all round so as to form a circle round (the place where) the funeral carriage was placed. Hence this place was thenceforth called Hwan-kü.

Note.—The sacrifice for one who died a premature death was performed here.

(§ 138.) In the first month of winter, on Sin-hai (1180th day), the Marquis of Ying and the Marquis of Ts'ao* came to present their condolences.† The recorder of the household met them to conduct them to the presence of the Son of Heaven, but the Son of Heaven pleaded that he was unwell and declined the honour. The Marquis of Ying and the Marquis of Ts'ao‡ then presented their condolences to the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince, having performed the wailing ceremony, issued from the gate of the ancestral temple in order to meet the Marquis of Ying and did obeisance repeatedly in recognition of his taking the trouble to come. The Marquis did not respond to the obeisances (declining the honour). The Marquis of Ying entered the audience hall and performed the wailing ceremony in the ancestral temple. The Crown Prince first performed the wailing ceremony and then entered, going to the western side, and forthwith took up his station there. The recorder of the household then came to assist the Marquis as master of ceremonies, going to the northern side and stood there. The Crown Prince then performed the greater wailing ceremony with nine (leapings). The Marquis of Ying then in due order performed three leapings and stopped. The Crown

* The Tso-chuen mentions, B.C. 1000—934, an Earl of Ts'ao.

† As to the rules concerning the time of condolence, under the several dynasties, see Li Ki, Legge, I. p. 170. Under the Cheu these visits of condolence were to be paid after the funeral.

‡ Neither of the two is mentioned in the Bamboo Books.

Prince accompanied the Marquis of Ying to the outside of the gates of the ancestral temple. The Marquis of Ying forthwith retired, the Crown Prince accompanying him with repeated obeisances. Then the Marquis of Ts'ao presented his condolences in the ancestral hall and entered to perform the wailing ceremony. The Crown Prince afterwards accompanied him, the same ceremonies being performed as in the case of the Marquis of Ying.

(§ 139.) On Jan-tsz (1181st day), the Son of Heaven assembled his officials for an audience to be given to the Marquis of Ying and to the Marquis of Ts'ao. When the Son of Heaven was coming back (from the mourning shed to the temple), the Marquis of Ying and the Marquis of Ts'ao, having performed the ceremony of touching* (the bier), went into the presence (of the Son of Heaven) and made their obeisances.† At the audience, the Son of Heaven requested both the Marquis of Ying and the Marquis of Ts'ao to return to their respective countries. The officials of the royal princes performed the ceremony of touching (the bier) together with the two Marquises and in accordance with the ancient rites.

Note.—The Son of Heaven issued a decree concerning (the ceremonies to be observed in) the case of presentations of grave clothes.

(§ 140.) On Kwéi-ch'eu (1182nd day), the ceremony of the greater wailing was performed and then
 (§ 141.) On Kiah-jin (1183rd

* This ceremony is fully described in *China Review*, VII., p. 16.

† The following five characters 天子之武一 are difficult to translate. The commentary says, 'we never met with this phrase.' Probably the text is corrupt here. Taking 之 here in the sense of 'to go' and 武一, Wu-yih, as the name of a place, we might perhaps translate, 'The Son of Heaven went to Wu-yih,' but I am not satisfied with this guess, because the context (see § 141) is rather against the assumption of a change of scene at this juncture.

day), the sacrifice for one who died a premature death* was offered, and the ceremony of the greater wailing performed, and then the procession started (once more). When the hearse had traversed a distance of 5 shié (150 li), a great halt was made.

Note.—The hearse stopped for three days at a great halt station.

Then the sacrifice for one who died a premature death was performed as before. (§ 142.) On Sin-yiu (1190th day), there was grand preparation made of all the articles required (for the interment) until everything was complete. (§ 143.) On Jan-suh (1191st day), the interment took place. The recorder had an account (of the proceedings) recorded on a drum and on a bell. They used red ropes to lower the coffin (into the grave). The officers of the seven detachments All the gentlemen and ladies present then, in due order, performed the leaping ceremony, making nine below the bier. In the early dawn, the Son of Heaven caused his favourite concubines to send (to the grave) presents, consisting of nine sets of variegated embroidered robes for burial. The chief mourner, I-hu, sent to the grave presents, consisting of lower grave-garments. The presiding lady among the female mourners, Shuh-tso, sent to the grave presents, consisting of cushions with fringes. All the various concubines and the court officials without exception sent to the grave sundry presents. Thereupon Tsing-li had the grave filled up (after depositing in it all the presents). All turned back to perform the wailing ceremony at the (last) great halting station. A sacrifice was then made to the tablet (of the deceased) . . . the sacrificial officer, and therewith the whole funeral was finished. Another wailing ceremony was performed to bid farewell to

* My Manuscript text here again, as in § 136, has, by a slip of the pen, 鰻 instead of 殯. I read 殯, as the printed text of the *Han-wei-ts'ung-shu* has it.

guests from a distance. The posthumous name, given to Shing-ki (and inscribed on the tablet), was Ngai-shuh-jin. The Son of Heaven gave to the heights (where she was buried) a name, calling them the heights of Ngai-shuh-jin.

(§ 144.) On Yuen-ch'eu (1194th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in an easterly direction and lodged for a while at Wu-luh. Here Shuh-tso had certain memories brought back to her mind and wailed. Hence the place was thenceforth called, Nü-tso k'iu (the heights of Lady Tso). (§ 145.) On Ting-mao (1196th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in an easterly direction and angled in the river T'ah, where he also offered a sacrifice to Shuh-jin (i.e. Shing-ki). Hence the place was thenceforth called Tsi-k'iu (the Heights of Sacrifice). (§ 146.) On Ki-tsz (1198th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in an easterly direction, and fed the horses on the banks of the river T'ah, on which occasion he planted there some jujube trees. Hence the place was thenceforth called Ma-chu (Horse-ruler). (§ 147.) On Kwéi-yiu (1202nd day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a southerly direction until he reached the observatory of Tsié. (§ 148.) In the second month of winter, on Kiah-suh (1203rd day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a westerly direction, until he reached the country of the Yin tribe. On this occasion the Son of Heaven angled in the Ho and viewed the trees known as Ku-yiu trees. (§ 149.) On Ting-ch'eu (1206th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a northerly direction. (§ 150.) On Wu-yin (1207th day), he lodged for a while on the banks of the Ho. On this occasion he visited the senior and junior relatives and descendants of the royal princess Ki.....when a sacrifice was made to the tablet (of Shing-ki) and all performed the wailing ceremony. Thus were the mourning ceremonies brought to a close in the country of the Hiao tribe.

(§ 151.) On Ki-mao (1208th day), the Son

of Heaven went westward and crossed the Ho by a small channel in the country of the Hiao tribe. (§ 152.) On Kang-shän (1209th day), he lodged for a while at Mao-ch'ih. Here it was that a (final) sacrifice was offered (to Shing-ki), whereupon he laid aside mourning, had some music performed for the first time (since Shing-ki's death), put on plain garments and turned homewards. Hence the place was thenceforth called Su-shi. The Son of Heaven forthwith proceeded in a south-westerly direction. (§ 153.) On Kwéi-mi (1212th day), he reached Yé-wang. (§ 154.) On Kiah-shin (1213th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a northerly direction and ascended the pass of Ta-poh, and then descended (on the other side). He took a rest at the foot of two cypress trees. But as the Son of Heaven kept unceasingly brooding over the affliction that had befallen him, he thought on this occasion of Shuh-jin Shing-ki, and thus it was that he shed bitter tears. Thereupon one Yiao-yü respectfully remonstrated with the Son of Heaven in the following words. 'From of old,' he said, 'there ever was death as well as birth. Then why should there be an exception in the case of Shuh-jin? That the Son of Heaven cannot rejoice in anything, has its cause in perpetual brooding. Now perpetual brooding has some advantages, if one but do not forget that there is such a thing as a renewal (of former happiness).' The Son of Heaven (on hearing these remarks) bewailed her, and on this occasion once more burst out in tears, but from this day forward he stopped it altogether.

(§ 155.) On Ki-wei (1248th day)
(§ 156.) On Yueh-yiu (1274th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a westerly direction and crossed the pass of Ying, whereupon he forthwith went towards the South-west. (§ 157.) On Wuh-tsz (1277th day), he reached Kan. (§ 158.) On Ki-ch'eu (1278th day), the Son of Heaven, turning southwards, ascended the mountains of Poh and crossed the pass of Tin-ling, on which occa-

sion he stayed for a night at Yü. (§ 159.) On Käng-yin (1279th day), the Son of Heaven proceeded in a southerly direction. (§ 160.) (Having selected) a lucky day, viz. the Sin-mao (1281st day), the Son

of Heaven entered Nan-ching (district city).

End of the 6th Section of the Muh t'ien tsz chuen (Narrative of the Son of Heaven, posthumously styled Muh).

FINIS.
